1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[3] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[4] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[5] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[3] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[4] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[5]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18 1]

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621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[361] [156] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hamba. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham- [124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

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133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
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separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
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of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
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which the other understands.

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the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 1.

796 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut
123 and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply
[797] a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has
[191] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She
[391] seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.
[177]

We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising.
126 We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem
194 to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, ɛ, o, u and ʉ . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and ar. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcvcv.
126 Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the
193 various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ba is the imperative particle, nage expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

123
114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bongus and Washuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
682 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [618] [191] [619] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus lulusi (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his genealogy were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Kros came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for me -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting for Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yewaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "nonki nothing".

593 Since Ngusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbim because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

Chapter IV

Case History- OWIYAP

*115 157 Owiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent [191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned *115 593 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second 736 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young-- his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishamps. He was carried *115 553 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His name was given him by the Malus with whom he stayed after the raid. His mother had named him Woyahokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 726 Owiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the house tamberan for a long time. The Hongwam hid in the house except for a few men. Owiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his 'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow Owiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then, when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 123 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Owiyap, who had gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We ate at Marok's house, and during the meal , Owiyap sat down beside me and

* 115 In talking over Owiyap with Tip, I was reminded of a couple of things about him that I have not yet recorded. In the first place, he has showed more interest in looking at pictures in the magazines and books that we have than the others --particularly the last number of the Pacific Island Monthly, which he has gone through half a dozen times, asking us what the pictures are--machines, ships, houses, etc., and then having been told, repeating them to himself, much like a child with a picture book.

Another thing is that several days ago, Tip gave him an old tooth brush. Since then, almost every morning he has asked us for it and has spent a long time scrubbing at his teeth and then looking at them in the mirror and showing them to us.

[191] Still another fact is the remarkable amount of pidgin he knows, for a child and for one who has obtained it 'second-hand' from returned "savvy talks". He is always eager to learn new words, and is very quick to learn to make a bed, to cook, or to do other things about the house.

November 15, 1936.

* 115 787 Tip got a dream from him this moring while I was asleep . Owiyap was with Mar going through the bush when they met a simuk (snake). It was a very tall thing made of leather and emitted a noise like a toy bull-roarer, but very much louder. It was a gambe (ghost) . They chased it, killed it and buried it. Then they were afraid about what they had done. As they were leaving the spot, another gambe approached and asked them why they had killed the simuk. They lied, saying "We didn't kill him", and hurried away.